538 2 times (Voegelin, 1935 b, 223). Bath taken to make listeners "strong; keep them healthy," so wood would not prick them (ibid.); if listener did not want to take early morning plunge he or she gave story teller something to eat, such as few piñons, acorns, seeds. Persons in house who did not wish to incur obligations that listening to stories involved lay down, covered head with robe so they could not hear stories, and slept.

538 773 Myths could only be told in wintertime, at night; if told in summer snakes bit listeners and narrator. Tales regarded as true stories, such as Orpheus story which narrates adventures of mortal man seeking to recover his dead wife, SM would tell in summer, but it was taboo to tell Coyote myths, etc., then. A very few old persons, of whom SM is one, still narrate myths to small groups on winter nights.

524 String figures.- String figures (a-wil) made from native twine, in winter, either during day or night, for pleasure only, by men and women; "everybody knew how to make them" (FP, SM). Old people urged young people to make the figures; "if old person had a son or daughter who asked him to make some string figures, the old man would say, 'This is Coyote or Bear,' and the young people would learn how to make it by watching that old person. They seemed to make pictures with those figures. Or if a person knew a lot of figures, people would go to his house at night in winter to watch him make them; the figures might suggest stories to the maker, too" (SM). [538] Figures did not, however, accompany myths as means of illustration. [552] Some names of string figures were: Mouse, Tugayayal (bird), Bluejay jumping (SM), Bear in house, Tugayayal flying, Coyote running, rabbit net (FP). All animals mentioned above occur as characters in myths.

Same taboo extended to making string figures in summer that held for telling myths in summer (above).

WAR

721 Although Tübatulabal were probably, as Kroeber points out (Handbook, 605-606), not markedly aggressive group, nevertheless they engaged in [171] hostilities with neighboring tribes to greater extent than did, for example, their Shoshonean neighbors, Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 306). Various central Yokuts groups made raids into Tübatulabal territory, which were followed by reprisals on part of Tübatulabal (SM, FP, FM); "the Kawaiisu used to go and fight with the Tejon people (s. Yokuts), but the Tübatulabal never did" (SM). Although SM, FP said that to [648] their knowledge relations with Koso and Kawaiisu had always been friendly, Tübatulabal even engaging Koso as allies during war with Yokuts (below), FM said he had been told by "Little Bill" Chico that Tübatulabal "often fought with the Kawaiisu,

721 who had no friends, and with the Koso; the Tübatulabal and the Koso once had a big fight at Walker's pass." FC had picked up arrowheads on a battlefield on Nichols peak, which lies on border of Tübatulabal-Kawaiisu areas. As among most California tribes, wars did not last long, nor were [727] fatalities heavy.

[754] Motives.- Motives for making war of usual variety (Kroeber, Handbook, 843), except witchcraft not mentioned by informants. Not every quarrel led to war; when Tübatulabal on one occasion broke formation at communal antelope drive (see section on Basic Subsistence) and Yokuts killed some of Tübatulabal taking part in drive, revengeful actions by their hosts did not lead to Tübatulabal-Yokuts war; "the Kawaiisu, Tübatulabal, Tejon, and Ventura people who were taking part in the drive just went home right away, and the Tübatulabal didn't keep fighting with the Yokuts because of this" (SM). On other hand, theft of seeds from women by strangers might promulgate series of intertribal raids.

726 Personnel of war parties.- Thirty soldiers
701 (wa·tam), grown able-bodied men, constituted "a big war party" (SM). Night before going to war, soldier could sleep with wife; in morning he rose early, swam; not subject to any food taboos. Soldiers took only arrows with them, no food, because "they didn't go a long way off to fight, and they'd come back in evening." Women did not accompany war parties. Raids staged in usual manner (Kroeber, Handbook, para. 2, 400); if possible men, women, children killed inside houses, after which raiders hurriedly retreated. Little hand-to-hand fighting in open warfare; half of force not left behind for reserves, as is situation mentioned in myth (Voegelin, 1935 b, 201). All fighting stopped at nightfall, or "when they had no more arrows they quit and came home to make some more" (SM).

701 Leader (nonо·i'il) selected by chief, who did
553 not himself accompany war parties; leader would be man who had killed one or more foes in previous fights and thus earned title of nonо·i'il, previous to his appointment to leadership. After some of Koso had settled in South Fork valley they and
● [648] Koso across Sierras to E were asked by Tübatulabal to aid latter in war against Yokuts group; these allies not paid for their assistance, but gave help as evidence of their friendliness.

727 Prisoners, war dance.- Prisoners of either sex not taken; scalping, torture denied by all informants. Soldiers took dead enemies' bows and arrows, or "just one arrow" (MM) and displayed these when they returned home; these bows (mugutiŋ a·lin, dead bow) put to practical use by men who had taken them (SM).

726 War dances of incitement, or victory dances
727 after return home not held (SM); FP said no victory dance, but described a round dance, which was

726 made before going to war and which she said was
727 not form of ghost dance, as follows:

"The round dance (to·loši·la muluwil) was made
535 by the chief; he held it at his place. All the
726 people would come; it lasted one night. Men and women joined hands, a woman between 2 men, and they danced around a fire in a big circle for a long time. A few singers who knew the war songs stood between the fire and the circle of dancers; they sang for the dance. The men didn't wear
[292] feather skirts for this dance, as they did for dances at a burning. During the night of a war dance, the chief made speeches; he talked loudly, principally to the men. The next morning the men would go off to war."

When Tübatulabal made retaliatory attack upon Yokuts raiders (below), no round dance was held; "the people were too angry to have a round dance" (FP).

728 Settlement.- Chiefs of 2 hostile tribes, when bent upon making peace, met together and "talked things over; usually they promised each other not to fight any more." No money or gifts exchanged by way of settlement for dead (SM).

72
173 Two accounts of wars with Yokuts groups illustrate motives for warfare, manner of fighting, settlement, etc. Both wars occurred in latter half of last century.

"A Tübatulabal woman was pounding chia seeds; some Porterville (Yokuts) men who were visiting the Tübatulabal took her seeds away from her. The woman became angry and ran home and told her husband; he sought out the Porterville men and killed one. After this fight the Porterville visitors went home, but the male relatives of the Porterville man who had been killed returned to the South Fork valley on a raid and killed 6 Tübatulabal women who were gathering cane at Cane creek in Kelso valley. They also killed some Tübatulabal men. Then the Tübatulabal went down and fought the Porterville people. The Porterville chief sent 3 men over to the Tübatulabal chief to tell him the Porterville men would not fight any more, and to ask the Tübatulabal chief to come over to Porterville to 'settle up.' But the Tübatulabal chief didn't trust the Porterville people; he told the messengers he would be over at Porterville in 3 days, but after they
● [648] left, the Tübatulabal chief sent up to the Koso chief in South Fork valley to tell those Indians over there to bring their arrows and go with him to Porterville. The Koso chief, Mouse, sent over E to get some more Koso; when they came there were about 50 of them; they camped one night at yitiamup (no. 9 on fig. 11), then they and the Tübatulabal chief and soldiers went over to Porterville the next day; they were prepared either to fight or settle up. The Porterville people were friendly to them; the 3 chiefs talked and agreed not to fight any more and the Porterville chief promised that thereafter his men would be good. The next year the Porterville people

72 visited the Tübatulabal to pick piñons, and they
173 and the Tübatulabal were friendly with each other again" (SM).

When Bill Chico was chief the Monilabal (Yokuts) from around Bakersfield made a raid into Tübatulabal territory; according to FP's account, "The Monilabal would kill lots of Tübatulabal women and take their beads from them. The Tübatulabal men would chase them back down Kern canyon. Once some Tübatulabal women were grinding acorns at a pit mortar when they saw the Monilabal coming; the women ran home and told the men about it. The Monilabal had feathers on their heads; they had come up the canyon to make a raid, and they killed 2 brothers. The Tübatulabal men chased them and caught up with those Monilabal, and they all jumped into the river (unaugmented Kern); they were way up in the hills whistling at each other, and it was dark when the Tübatulabal men came back from Kernville. The Monilabal had finally escaped by swimming across the river. The fight started in the afternoon and lasted until evening.

"After this fight the Tübatulabal men assembled. They were too angry to make a round dance; they just got together and went down E of Bakersfield; there they shot one man in the head. The
● [648] war stopped then. After that Bill Chico and the Koso chief, Mouse, both went down to the Monilabal and told the Monilabal not to fight any more."

PROPERTY, TRADE, DIVISION OF LABOR

421 Personal property, wealth.- Man owned all
562 products of his labor, sons asking father's permission to use such; game man killed belonged to him, but he shared it "if people who wanted some
[602] came over to his house; he usually took a piece to his wife's parents too" (SM). Woman owned products of her labor, implements she used; her permission required for sale of such; children "didn't own anything" (SM, FP); LT said her father sold first basket she made, kept the pro-
[567] ceeds. There was no enslavement of debtors, war captives.

428 Some songs, such as bear, rattlesnake songs
424 owned by men, but not sold; rainmaker's songs,
538 outfit either buried with him or passed on by inheritance; man, woman owned right to narrate those myths regarded as his because he told them each winter, but after his death "anyone who remembered that man's stories could tell them" and eventually they came to be regarded as property of new narrator (SM).

556 Wealth amassed by men, women in form clamshell money, shell cylinders; these obtained either by inheritance or by selling meat, piñons, etc. Rich
[436] man or chief of advanced age sometimes had "3 antelope or deerskin sacks full of money"; each sack held about 500 long strings rated in American money at $2 apiece, 3 sackfuls totaling $3000. Such wealth hoarded during owner's lifetime; often hidden underneath boulders on rocky hillslopes;

556 "man or woman hid it good and didn't tell anyone; sometimes he died and nobody knew where he'd put it" (SM). Baskets, bows not wealth "because they made those things" (SM).

421 Land ownership.- Any form land ownership lacking; all information bore out fact that neither
423 band, hamlet, household groups nor private individuals owned land. Hunting, gathering places free not only to members of both bands, but also to neighboring tribespeople; visitors did not have to ask chief's permission to hunt, etc., in Tübatulabal or Palagewan area (SM, FP). Attitude on this point illustrated by SM in discussing influx of Koso Indians in e. end of South Fork valley; "lots of ši·gawiyam (Koso) who had been fighting the whites with the Bishop Indians came down and stayed in Canebrake and at the mouth of Chimney canyon. There had been no Koso there before that time. The Tübatulabal didn't care; they never lived up there anyway. Some of the Koso brought their wives, some married down here,
[551] but they married Kawaiisu women mostly. Some of the names of those Koso men were ki·i·bul, tui·lum, pi·lo·n šiko·lolont (butterfly), mawi·l (twine), mudazdzu (Spanish, muchacho), and Juan Paiyote, a dancer. Those Koso lived and died here; they never went back. Only 3 men went back, pi·lo·n, mudazdzu, and Juan; they stayed at Olanche 2 yrs., and then they came back over here
● [648] again and died here. The Tübatulabal never had any fights with them."

Hamlet sites not owned; if third family had wanted to build house at hamlet no. 5 (fig. 11), could have done so without asking permission of either of 2 houseowners already occupying site. Dwelling house owned by builder until vacated; then it became "anybody's house" (SM).

425 Patches of wild tobacco were free to be used by anyone, but once woman had started tending
423 plants in particular patch, plants became hers and sometimes women marked boundaries of their patches with sticks laid on ground. Same woman did not, however, tend one patch year after year (FP).
[421] No ownership of eagle eyries, seed areas, piñon or acorn trees (SM, FP).

428 Inheritance.- During his lifetime, husband
768 house owner or "boss" of house; after his death, house usually either burned or deserted, and widow became house owner of new domicile; if any of her children or daughters-in-law were living with her "they did what she said." After both parents' death, house might be deserted, or eldest married son and wife might, occasionally, continue living in it, unmarried siblings of man also staying there, but younger married brothers and wives at this time usually moved out. At a house owner's death, if no survivors, house burned. Besides account of destruction of houses after death, FP cited burning of house, personal property, upon shaman's advice, following illness of member of family (see Autobiography of FP). Personal property

484 statement (Voegelin, 1935 b, 221). Within Tüba-
487 tulabal area trails lay chiefly along ridges.

Marriage statistics for last 80-90 yrs. also
582 give indications of groups with whom there has
648 been intimate contact; 98 marriages recorded of which there were 17 Tübat.-Tübat.; 7 Tübat.-Palagewan; 2 Tübat.-Bankalachi; 7 Tübat.-Owens Valley Paiute (several relatively recent); 6 Tübat.-Koso; 14 Tübat.-Kawaiisu; 12 Tübat.-Yokuts, mainly Tejon Yokuts; 4 Tübat.-Chumash; 1 Tübat.-Yaqui; 18 Tübat.-white (Mexicans, Frenchmen, Americans).

439 From Chumash, Tübatulabal obtained shell
422 money, shell cylinders, steatite, probably, and in later times horses; these exchanged for
437 piñons. They also took advantage of trading trips to Chumash to collect lumps of asphalt from beach and to fish in ocean. Occasionally Chumash made reciprocal visits. In trading, "a sack of piñons was left on the ground; the Ventureños came up, and took as many as they wanted, and laid shell money down in payment" (SM). No bargaining; goods had fixed price (see below). Shell money, certain varieties of acorns obtained from Yokuts (Monilabal), in exchange for piñons.

439 In fall of 1932 SM and MM visited Northfork
484 Mono on trading trip (Voegelin, 1935 b, 239).

Dried meat mentioned most frequently as com-
439 modity traded intratribally, in winter especially;
773 in myth Coyote buys meat with shell money (Voegelin, 1935 b, 199). Yellowhammer bands another trade article within tribe.

436 Currency.- Clamshell disks (tugumba·l) standard currency; disks kept strung on native twine, strings coiled and stored in money jars (see section on Basketry) or, if person had large quantity currency she hid part of it away in skin sacks. Perforated shell cylinders (hobo·apun), which like disks were obtained already made up from Chumash, came in 2 sizes; used chiefly for necklaces, nose plugs, but sometimes kept in money jars, served as currency. Olivella shells,
[825] haliotis shell known, but not used for currency; dentalium unknown to informants.

Smallest unit of measure in clamshell currency was ya·ŋgil, double length of index finger or about 8 in. Standard unit (ki·la·hil) measured twice around circumference of palm and fingers, about 45 in.; this also known as hÿštÿh; cf. Yokuts, hista, Chumash stü, for string this length (Kroeber, Handbook, 565).
435 Largest unit (pu·wil) was 16-hÿštÿh string, about 45 ft. In terms American money, ya·ŋgil = 1 cent, hÿštÿh = 10 cents, pu·wil = $2. Informants realized 16-hÿštÿh string or pu·wil should have been equated to $1.60. Shell cylinders 3 in. long worth one hÿštÿh; those 5 in. long double.

Woman's sifter worth 8 hÿštÿh ($1); whole deer, yellowhammer quill band pu·wil ($2); horse, 70 yrs. ago, 5 pu·wil ($10). In 1932 10-lb. bag of chia seeds offered to SM for $2, which was "too high" (SM); plugs, balls of tobacco were selling for $3.

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

back. 297. With my own wife I went there. 298. I am like that when coming back. 299. Then I arrived at my own house. 300. Then I told my own father: 301. "That shaman is speaking to me, 'The one who is doing it to you is living,' he is saying to me." 302. Then, "I will give you jimsonweed to drink," my father is saying. 303. Then he gave me a drink. 304. Then I saw that bad shaman. 305. I saw something, everything, watersnakes, lizards. 306. (They) come out from above and go and fall on the ground, and also one (falls) on the side again. 307. Then I am speaking to my own wife, "See the lizard," I am saying. 308. Then that next day I became sober. 309. I am wandering about well.

310. Then that bad shaman spoke to one man, saying, it is said, "I will kill him," he is saying, it is said, "anywhere when I see him." 311. Then that man told me: 312. "That shaman is speaking," he is saying, "he will kill you," my friend is saying to me. 313. "Good," I am saying when my friend is speaking. 314. Then I wandered off for my gun.

315. Then one man got sick. 316. Then that shaman is called, and also the bad shaman is called there too. 317. Then we, all people, went, going to hear that shaman. 318. Then right away he sang in the nighttime. 319. Then also he is biting tobacco when dancing. 320. He is dancing in the nighttime. 321. "That shaman is doing this to you," he is saying. 322. Then that one (the bad shaman) became angry when he (the good shaman) is speaking. 323. "Not I," he is saying, "but it is a man; he is sitting down," he is saying to me, "and I will skin him," he is saying, "before daylight," he is saying. 324. Then many people are hearing him when he is speaking. 325. Then that shaman quit his singing. 326. Then he went to his own house. 327. Then from there all the people took leave. 328. And also that bad shaman came toward the path. 329. Then, "Let's go to the store," I am saying, "let's go in order to get a drink" (I say to my friend). 330. "Good," (my friend) is saying. 331. Then we went toward the path; we arrived there on the bridge; there three men are standing; they are drinking. 332. We stood there. 333. "Drink ye." 334. Then we drank one drink. 335. Then that shaman came and arrived. 336. "Who are you?" he is saying. 337. Then from there he asked again. 338. Then one man spoke. "That is Yukaya," he is saying. 339. "Good," (the shaman) is saying, "I want that one," he is saying. 340. Then right away he took out his own gun. 341. Right away he put his own gun for me on my heart. 342. Then his gun did not go off. 343. Then right away I pulled out my own gun, and right away I put it for him on his rib; right away my gun went off. 344. Then, when it turned him upside down (caused him to fall face downward), he went; he went and fell. 345. Then there his partner jumped from there to here; he took out his own gun. 346. Then my friend grabbed him. 347. He took for me his gun from there to here. 348. Then one man ran to his own house; he went to get his gun. 349. Then from there I went back again toward my own house, in the company of my own friend. 350. Then that man came and arrived there. 351. He is coming holding his own gun in his own hand. 352. "Where (is) that man? (He is) a desperado," he is saying; "let him come out," he is saying. 353. Then that man, the house-owner, "Do not go out," he is saying to me.

354. Then from there I came toward my own house. 355. Then that next day both the sheriffs came and arrived. 356. Then my relatives are speaking, "The sheriffs come already," (my relatives) are saying, "hurry up, get up," (they) are saying. 357. Then from there I got up. 358. I went outside. 359. Then the sheriff came and stood there; he took out his own gun. 360. Then I am speaking, "Why are you taking out your own gun?" I am saying. 361. "I am coming to get you," he is saying, "and where is your gun?" he is saying. 362. "Here inside," I am saying. 363. Then we entered. 364. Then I took out my own gun from under my own pillow. 365. Then I gave that one my own gun. 366. Then that one put his own gun for me on the heart. 367. He is trembling. 368. "Why are you trembling?" I am saying. (Yukaya surrendered his gun with the muzzle instead of the butt forward; this frightened the sheriff.)

369. Then from there we came backward; we went and arrived there in the store. 370. We talked there. 371. "Why did you kill that man?" 372. "He took out his gun first," I am saying, "and I shot last." 373. "And why are you carrying your own gun?" 374. "That

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

man wants me to," I am saying, "that very man speaking," I am saying. 375. Then that man was asked. 376. Then, "Yes," he is saying, "that shaman, 'I will kill Yukaya,' he is saying, 'surely when he meets me.'" 377. "And what are you coming to do in the store," that man is saying to me, "at one in the morning?" he is saying. 378. "I am coming there to get a drink," I am saying. 379. "And don't you know that the store (is) already closed," he is saying, "in the middle of the night?" he is saying. 380. "That (is) already closed," I am saying when he is speaking, "but we are getting that drink just the same," I am saying, "(because) that house is pierced (has a hole in the door); there we are getting it," I am saying, "and we are getting that drink any time." 381. Then that talker is laughing when I am speaking. 382. My many friends (are) the helpers for me. 383. Then the talker did not decide from there. 384. Then from there that talker spoke, "Let us take him," he is saying, "to the north fork (Kernville)," he is saying, "in jail," he is saying. 385. Then from there the talker spoke to my friends, "You may come," he is saying, "to north fork," he is saying, "tomorrow," he is saying, "we will talk there," he is saying.

386. I was taken from there that night. 387. Then that next morning I was taken in the restaurant. 388. Then that sheriff is standing there next to me when I am eating. 389. Many people (are) inside. 390. Then one man spoke, "Is (this) the bad man there?" he is saying. 391. "Yes," the sheriff is saying, "pretty soon we hang him." 392. "Later," I am saying, "let me eat first," I am saying, "then you hang me in future," I am saying.

393. Then from there we went toward the court house. 394. Then my friends are all sitting there in the court house. 395. Then the sheriff spoke to me, "If you will be asked again, there is no more to say in future," he is saying, "your friends will talk," he is saying. 396. Then they talked; they all talked well. 397. Then the gun of that shaman (whom I shot) was taken out and all his shells are hollow (from the hammer hitting the shells which did not actually discharge). 398. Then my gun was taken out; one shot (was shot) recently. 399. Then, "Good," the talker (judge) is saying. 400. Then he asked me, "Do you want to talk after a while?" he is saying. 401. "No," I am saying when he says this. 402. Then from there the talker talked by himself, "Good," he is saying, "you go out," he is saying, "and don't you again carry your own gun in future," he is saying; "if somebody will look for you, then you go this way in future," he is saying. 403. "Good," I am saying; then I never again carried my own gun. 404. I got out.

405. Then from there I went toward Bishop. 406. I arrived there. 407. (There are) many girls. 408. Right away I took one that night. 409. We went and slept. 410. "I will live with you," she is saying to me. 411. "No," I am saying, "I have no money," I am saying when she speaks. 412. Then that next day I am wandering about there. 413. Then also from there I found one again; I took her also. 414. Then we slept. 415. Then in the morning we got up. 416. Then we went to eat in the restaurant; we stayed there during the day. 417. Many girls are coming there. 418. "Who is the handsome young man?" they are saying, they are asking that woman. 419. "He is my husband," she is saying. 420. Then, it being night already, we went outside from there.

421. Then we met that Indian agent there. 422. "Where are you taking this woman?" the agent is saying. 423. "We are just wandering along." 424. "Your taking (the girls) is not possible," he is saying; "will you wander along with all the girls?" he is saying. 425. "No," I am saying. 426. "Quit it," he is saying. 427. Then I spoke to that woman, "Keep going," I am saying. 428. Then, "Good," she is saying, "I will see you any time," she is saying. 429. "And if you want to marry one woman, you talk to her in future," (the agent) is saying, "not to every (woman)," he is saying; then, "Good," he is saying.

430. Then right away I found another (woman) again. 431. Then, "Let's go to my house" (the woman says). 432. Then we went. 433. I stayed with her there in her house.

434. Then from there I came to Bishop. 435. I saw that agent there. 436. "Hello," he is saying, "are you married already?" he is saying. 437. "Yes," I am saying. 438. "Good," he is saying. 439. Then he gave me his own hand. 440. "You live well in future with her," he is saying. 441. "Good," I am saying when he is speaking.

4: Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

173 peaceable Yokuts of the plains, dispossessing these, indeed, until the southernmost Yokuts were almost separated from the main body to the north. The story even goes on to picture how they would have seized the entire Tulare Basin had they not become enervated by malaria—somewhat as Greek and Latin civilization perished before the same disease, according to a more recent and famous fancy. Even the fact that the Tübatulabal were all found living in the mountains when the white man came is explained: the same scourge drove them back to the salubrious hills whence they had emerged, and they utilized their conquests only for an annual or occasional visit.

173 As a matter of fact, the visits took place; but they were the visits of guests. The southern Yokuts tribes, both of the plains and of ●648 the foothills, were generally quite thoroughly friendly, and joined one another in their respective territories to such an extent, according to the season of the year, that it is almost impossible to assign an exact habitat to any of them. The Tübatulabal, in spite of their separateness of origin and speech, were also in the main on amicable terms with these Yokuts tribes; and so came to join them in their little migrations. Just as they came down to Bakersfield, to Kern Lake, and to White River, probably even to Tejon and San Emigdio, the Yokuts, as occasion warranted, ascended the Kern for miles to fish, and to its forks, the center of the Tübatulabal home, to visit.

The entire little pseudo-history rests neither upon evidence nor even native tradition, but is solely an imagination developed from a knowledge of the facts that the Tübatulabal are Shoshonean and that eastern tribes are often more aggressive than those of the Pacific coast area.

Of course the amity between Yokuts and Tübatulabal suffered intermissions. But the Yokuts tribes fell out among each other also, now and then; and the relations do not seem to have been different in more than moderate measure.

GEOGRAPHY.

131 The land of the Tübatulabal was the region drained by Kern 101 River, down as far as a point about halfway between the forks and Bakersfield. The exact spot has not been determined; it was not far from the Paleuyami Yokuts settlements Shoko and Altau, and a few miles above what the Yokuts call K'ono-ilkin, "water-fall," a cascade, or perhaps a stretch of rapids that does not appear on our maps but which served as a landmark to the natives.

The modern Tübatulabal settlements, and apparently the majority of the old villages, were in the vicinity of the forks of Kern, both above and below the junction, and apparently more largely on the